

MUSIC TO TEACH AND TRANSFORM

– Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and the Beginnings of Modern Music Teaching in China

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Historians of modern Chinese music and music education generally agree that efforts to introduce Western-style music education in China on the part of China's social and economic elite began in the last years of the nineteenth century. It was in 1896 that the reform-minded gentry-scholar Zhong Tianwei 锺天緯 (1840-1900) first included singing as an extracurricular activity in his newly established primary school in Shanghai.[1] Two years later, in the spring of 1898, the Shimin Academy (*Shimin Xuetang* 時敏學堂), arguably the earliest Western-style modern school set up by a Chinese in Canton, introduced singing into its curriculum.[2] In May the same year, the study of musical instruments (*qinxue* 琴學) was introduced in the first Chinese-run school for girls, the Jingzheng Girls' School (*Jingzheng nüshu*

[1] Chen Xuexun 陳學恂 ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyus shi jiaoxue cankao ziliao* 中國近代教育史教學参考資料 (Sources on the Teaching of Modern Chinese Educational History) (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1986), vol. 1, p. 301. Also see Wang Pu 汪樸, "Qingmo Minchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo" 清末民初樂歌课之兴起确立經過 (The Introduction and Establishment of Singing Lessons in Schools during the Late Qing and Early Republican Era), *Zhongguo yinyue xue* (Musicology in China) No. 1 (1997), p. 64.

[2] Liao Fushu 廖輔叔, *Xiao Youmei zhuan* 萧友梅傳 (A Biography of Xiao Youmei) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang meishu chubanshe, 1993), p. 6.

經正女塾) in Shanghai.[3] Also in 1898, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), the most important figure in the 1898 Reform Movement, recommended the inclusion of singing and music (*geyue* 歌樂) in Chinese schools as part of his proposal for educational reform in his memorial to the throne "Qing kai xuexiao zhe" 請开學校折 (Memorial requesting the establishment of schools), citing the examples of Germany and Japan as precedents.[4]

In this essay I examine music and the 1898 Reform Movement by centering on the two key figures of the movement, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929). By looking closely at what they wrote on music and how they actually used music in their reform activities, I hope to demonstrate two main points: first, the engagement of music as a means to teach and transform the Chinese populace was an integral part of Kang and Liang's reformist aspirations; and second, the two reformers were united in their Confucian-rooted utilitarian approach to music.

In summarizing their ideological positions about music, I do not, however, want to convey the impression that their ideas and practices were indistinguishable. Apart from identifying their similarities, I wish to analyze their respective views in spatio-temporal terms so as to paint a nuanced picture of the differences in their approaches to music. Thus, the questions I ask in this essay are: What did Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao mean when they talked about music? What were the sources of their inspiration? Were their views of music consistent throughout their careers? In their reformist thinking, was Western music favored over Chinese music? Why did they favour certain genres of Western music at certain points of time? And, finally, in what ways did the use of music in their reform programs contribute to the spread of Western music in China?

Music as a Means to Teach and Transform: The Case of Kang Youwei

Kang Youwei's first mention of music in his autobiography is as follows:

> Twelfth year of Guangxu (1886): At the age of twenty-nine I wrote the Discourses on the Intuitive and the Worldly Thoughts of Kang the Philosopher. The intuitive section discusses the principles of heaven, earth, and men, and the worldly section deals with the affairs of government, education, arts and music.[5]

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[3] Sun Ji'nan 孫繼南, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue jiaoyushi jinian* 中國近現代音樂教育史纪年 (1840-1989) (A Chronology of Music Education in the History of Modern China: 1840-1989) (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2000), p. 8; Wu Yongyi 伍雍谊 ed., *Zhonguo jinxiandai xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu, 1840-1949* 中國近現代學校音樂教育, 1840-1949 (School Musical Education in Modern China, 1840-1949) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), p. 129.

[4] Sun Ji'nan and Zhou Zhuquan 周柱铨, *Zhongguo Yinyue Tongshi Jianbian* 中國音樂通史简编 (A Concise History of Chinese Music) (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 395-96.

[5] Kang Youwei, *Kang Nanhai zibian nianpu* 康南海自编年譜 (The Chronological Autobiography of Kang Youwei) in Jian Bozan 翦伯赞 et al., comp., *Wuxu bianfa* 戊戌變法 (The

This entry is significant in that it indicates not only the context in which Kang wrote about music but also the utilitarian nature of Kang's view of music. Kang Youwei's classification of music as part of "worldly" affairs reveals his functional view of music as an instrument of human governance.

While Kang's utilitarian approach to music is implicit in his autobiography, his conception of music as an important pedagogical tool is also clearly revealed in his best known work *Datong shu* 大同書 (Book of Great Unity) written in 1884-85. In Part VI, Chapter 2, for example, Kang made it clear that in his Utopian world music would play an important part in all stages of human development, beginning with the "Human Roots Institutions" (*renben yuan* 人本院). When a woman is pregnant, Kang wrote, it was important for her to be in a musical environment:

> There will be special delivery rooms with people playing music and chanting poems constantly... After childbirth there will be specially trained nurses to care for the infants so the mothers will be free to listen to music, to read, and to look at pictures. The mother will be given proper foods and drinks to nourish her in her special condition. There will be music and poetry played and sung, suitable to harmonizing body and soul.[6]

For Kang, the importance of music lay as much in its transforming power as in its aesthetic appeals. "Nothing is so potent in affecting our natures" as music, he stated explicitly. He was, however, very vague about the kind of music he had in mind and only pointed out that it "will be of the most peaceful and correct sort."[7]
Kang Youwei's idea that pregnant women should be surrounded by "peaceful and correct" music was not original. In large part, it represented his summation of theories which had been widely discussed and practiced in educational circles in China since Han times (206 B.C.-A.D. 220). Specifically, Kang here engaged an environmental view of education which owed its origins to the traditional Chinese theory of "prenatal teaching" (*taijiao* 胎教).

First expressed in the Han text the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Chaste Women), the concept of "prenatal teaching," as Charles P. Ridley has explained, is deeply rooted in traditional Chinese educational theory that "involved a synthesis of the environmental and developmental positions."[8] This theory became widely known among educated Chinese when the neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-

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1898 Reforms) (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguangshe, 1953), vol. 4, p. 118. This translation is adapted from that of Jung-pang Lo in Jung-pang Lo ed., *K'ang Yu-wei – A Biography and a Symposium* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967), p. 43.

[6] Kang Youwei, *Datong shu* 大同書 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1935), p. 306. This translation is taken from Laurence G. Thompson, *Ta T'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 193 with minor modification.

[7] Thompson, *Ta T'ung Shu*, p. 191

[8] Charles P. Ridley, "Theories of Education in the Ch'ing Period", *Late Imperial China 3*. 8 (1977): 35.

1200) developed this concept in his Xiaoxue 小學 (Elementary Learning).[9] It stressed the importance of "external forces on the child's physical and moral development."[10] According to this theory, the fetal environment not only has an impact on the developing fetus but also has a lasting influence "on the child's temperament and moral status after its birth and in its later life."[11]

The Chinese have always believed in the importance of environment in bringing up a child. Confucian thinkers like Xunzi 荀子 (c. 310- c. 220 B.C.) emphasized the importance of environment as a determining factor in a person's upbringing.[12] Kang Youwei clearly subscribed to this theory and believed that a child's education should begin as early as when she or he was still in the mother's womb. But unlike most of the traditional Chinese educators, he stressed the importance of music in prenatal education. In his view, music of the appropriate sort could function as an ideal tool before a child was born.

Kang Youwei's belief in the benefits of music in education can be further seen in his insistence that singing be used at all stages of a child's development. In the chapter on "Infant-Care Institutes" (*yuying yuan* 育嬰院), for example, he stipulated specifically that children should be "taught songs that are aimed at instilling the ideas of benevolence, compassion and treasuring things and their hearts and ears should be filled with these songs."[13] Singing should also constitute an important part in both the "Elementary School Institutes" (*Xiaoxue yuan* 小學院) and the "Secondary School Institutions" (*Zhongxue yuan* 中學院). "Once children have developed an interest in singing," Kang wrote, "[new] songs praising ancient or contemporary benevolent deeds should be composed and children ought to be taught to sing them."[14] Once students have entered "Secondary School Institutions", Kang suggested, they "should learn the rites (*li* 禮) and music (*yue* 樂)." The purpose of this, according to Kang, was to bring mental as well as physical benefits to students. Rites and music, as Kang explained, would "nurture their inner disposition, harmonies their vital energy, regulate their blood circulation, breed refinement, and stimulate their imagination." [15]This Confucian imperative to emphasis the moral and ethical force of music shows clearly that Kang's ultimate design was to use music as a means of moral persuasion and character building rather than aesthetic enjoyment.

For Kang Youwei, music was not only useful in terms of teaching students to understand the good but also effective in internalizing goodness involuntarily. This

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[9] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[10] Limin Bai, "Children and the Survival of China: Liang Qichao on Education before the 1898 Reform," Late Imperial China 22. 2 (2001): 128.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ridley, "Theories of Education in the Ch'ing Period," p. 36.

[13] Kang, Datong shu, p. 319.

[14] Ibid., p. 323.

[15] Ibid., p. 325.

was why he maintained that even students at "Collegiate Institutions" (*daxue yuan* 大學院) should make singing and poetry recitation a part of their daily routine. "Only by singing songs and chanting poems daily could their morals be uplifted and their character cultivated."[16]

Kang Youwei's conviction in the moral and civilizing effectiveness of music is reminiscent of both the Confucian belief in the moral function of music and the mid-nineteenth century Western belief in the social value of music instruction. For Confucius, music has a broad role to play "in the process of self-cultivation, from the refinement of inner qualities to the acquisition of social graces."[17] By the same token, the mid-nineteenth century American educators had a firm belief that "[s]ongs and glees, which have a good moral tendency… serve to improve the mind, and add to the refinement of the heart."[18] As James H. Stone has pointed out, the Boston School Committee's confidence in the values of music instruction did not originate from an appreciation of the intrinsic values of music but rather resulted from a realization of the efficacy of music in moral education.[19] Similarly, Kang Youwei's envisioning of the omnipresent use of music in his Utopian world was a direct result of his belief in the usefulness of music in affecting the inner disposition of the listener.[20]

Like the nineteenth-century Bostonians who were convinced that "music had mysterious charms which enlivened mind and body,"[21] Kang Youwei also highlighted the practical use of music in providing a healthy and delightful living environment. In his "Medical Institutes" (*yixue yuan* 醫學院), for example, Kang envisaged that "the facilities of the hospitals will include pleasant surroundings, music, plays, books, etc. – all the things calculated to foster pleasure of body and mind for the patients."[22] In the agricultural sector, each farm will have a library, a music hall, a garden, etc., and in the public industry, "art, painting, sculpture, and music will be the basis" to "make work enjoyable."[23] Even the toilet facilities in his Utopian world "will be made pleasant with music and fragrant odors and mechanical contrivances for flushing away the filth."[24]

Music certainly constituted an important facet of Kang's reformist thinking. This

[16] Ibid., p. 331.

[17] Kenneth J. DeWoskin, "Early Chinese Music and the Origins of Aesthetic Terminology" in Susan Bush and Christian Murck eds., Theories of the Arts in China (Princeton, N. J: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 190.

[18] Boston Musical Gazette, I (1838-39), cited in James H. Stone, "Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Beliefs in the Social Values of Music," The Musical Quarterly 43. 1 (1957): 39.

[19] Stone, "Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Beliefs in the Social Values of Music," pp. 38-40.

[20] Thompson, Ta T'ung Shu, p. 273.

[21] Stone, "Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Beliefs in the Social Values of Music," p. 40.

[22] Thompson, Ta T'ung Shu, p. 201.

[23] Ibid., pp. 220-21.

[24] Ibid., p. 274.

can perhaps be best illustrated by the fact that almost all his major reformist essays contained a section on music. For example, in his *Xinxue weijing kao* 新學偽經考 (On the Forged Classics of the Xin-Period Learning), and his revolutionary pamphlet, *Kongzi gaizhi kao* 孔子改制考 (A Study of Confucius as a Reformer), Kang took great pains to point out the direct linkage between music and sound government and stressed repeatedly the importance of music as a means of moral education (*yuejiao* 樂教).[25] Kang never defined the term music in his voluminous writings, but it is clear that his understanding of the term was deeply rooted in the orthodox Confucian tradition. "By music," as Homer Dubs pointed out in his study of Xunzi, "the ancient Chinese meant more than we do by the term. What they called music was much nearer the ancient Greek conception of the art than our present conception - it was a union of instrumental and vocal music and rhythm."[26] This also applies to Kang's conception of music. Music (*yue* 樂) for Kang was clearly a union of rituals, poetry, music and dance. Although his emphasis on the practical uses of singing in school ceremonies might have been inspired by missionary use of music, it is clear that in his mind there is only one kind of music to which he referred, that is, the refined music of China (*yayue* 雅樂) as represented by court music, music of the upper classes, and ritual or ceremonial music.

The importance of music in Kang's reformist thinking and his indebtedness to Confucian tradition can also be seen in his emphasis on the connection between music and politics, and his pairing of music and rites. This is entirely consistent with his traditional upbringing and his Confucian outlook. In Confucianism, music is always tied to rites and political governance. The "Yueji" 樂記 (Record of Music) chapter of the Book of Rites (*Liji* 禮記) clearly spells out that "rites, music, government, and punishment are ultimately one and the same – a means to unify the people's minds and correctly execute the Way."[27] Unlike his disciple Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei never seemed to be able to free himself from the traditional Confucian bond. Rather than focusing on music alone, Kang's promotion of music is always accompanied by his emphasis on the importance of the rites. In his view, music and rites were two essential tools of sound government. Whereas the role of the rites was to maintain social hierarchy and good behavior, the role of music was to cultivate morality and to instill a sense of harmony among the people.[28] This insistence on the importance of

[25] Wang Pu, "Qingmo Minchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo," p. 61.

[26] Homer Dubs, *Hsüntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* (London: Probsthain, 1927), p. 161.

[27] Translated in Stephen Owen in *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 51.

[28] Kang Youwei's emphasis on the importance of the rites can also be seen in his work *Zhouli wei zheng* 周禮偽證 (Proofs of the Errors in the Rituals of Zhou) and *Kongzi gaizhi kao* 孔子改制考 (An Investigation of Confucius as a Reformer). See Jiang Yihua 姜義華, Wu Genliang 吳根樑 eds., *Kang Youwei quanji* 康有为全集 (The Complete Works of Kang Youwei) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 3, pp. 280-81 and passim.

music and rites in political governance is nowhere more clearly exemplified than in his *Jiaoxue tongyi* 教學通議 (General Discussion on Teaching and Learning), written in the wake of the Sino-French War of 1884-85. In response to the argument that the ancient rites and music cannot be properly revived unless good government is first put in place, Kang retorted:

> This is truly the opinion of stupid men who have no idea about statecraft! If rites and music are not revived, how could a harmonious government be possible? If a harmonious government could be established without having to wait for rites and music to be revived, what then is the use of rites and music? And why revive them?[29]

He even went so far as to state that "only by knowing rituals and learning music can good manners be formed and talents cultivated and democracy promoted." [30]Again, Kang's line of reasoning finds its roots in orthodox Confucian thinking. In the music chapter of the Book of Rites, it is stated:

> Music unifies; rites set things apart. In unifying there is a mutual drawing close; in setting things apart there is mutual respect. If music overwhelms, there is a dissolving; if rites overwhelm, there is division. To bring the affections into accord and to adorn their outward appearance is the function of music and rites. When rites and ceremonies are established, then noble and commoner find their own levels; when music unifies them, then those above and those below are joined in harmony.[31]

Clearly Kang agreed with ancient Confucian scholars in their understanding of the social and political function of music. His consistent belief in music as an important means of moral cultivation and social harmony shows his deep indebtedness to the Confucian conviction that the harmony between the ruler and ruled was essential to universal order and moral rectitude.

Kang's deep conviction in the values of music in affording moral, intellectual and physical advantages to an individual's upbringing led him to include music in his actual teaching practice. In 1891 Kang opened a school at *Changxing Lane* 長興里in Canton. Although the school was in spirit like Western schools,[32] Kang, following Confucius's example, required his students to master the so-called "liu yi" 六藝 (Six Arts), namely, rites (*li* 禮), music (*yue* 樂), archery (*she* 射), charioteering (*yu* 御), reading (*shu* 書) and mathematics (*shu* 數).[33] Confucius himself was of the opinion that in the absence of musical study and participation, education was

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[29] *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 1, p. 127.

[30] Ibid..

[31] Translated by Owen in Readings in Chinese Literary Thought, p. 55.

[32] Thompson, *Ta T'ung Shu*, p. 14.

[33] Chen Qianqiu 陳千秋 and Liang Qichao, eds., *Kang Youwei Changxing li jiang xueji* 康有為長興里講學記 (Record of Kang Youwei's Lectures at Changxing Lane) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1972), pp. 26-28.

necessarily incomplete, and therefore inadequate.[34] Kang certainly took notice of the master's admonition. The way he copied Confucius's curriculum and included music as a subject of study in his own private academy is suggestive of his attachment to Confucian pedagogical philosophy.

Kang Youwei's emphasis on the importance of music and rites in education and politics saw him spending much of his time lecturing his pupils on aspects of China's musical tradition and its historical connection with governance. He not only made comments on most of the music-related passages contained in the Confucian Classics but also discussed such technical matters as the correct establishment of the absolute basic pitch, *huangzhong* 黄鐘, the range of the musical gamut, methods of calculating the twelve semitones, forms of notation, modes, the tuning of instruments, and the like. He even provided some technical descriptions of musical instruments and discussed at length matters relating to ritual music of the court, genres of secular songs, and the origins of some ceremonial and popular instruments.[35]

Kang Youwei's insistence on the importance of rites and music in education and ultimately in China's social and political reforms also led him to taking concrete steps to restore China's ancient rituals and music. His inclusion of music and rites in his school activity, as intimated by the following entry from his autobiography, is most instructive:

> Eighteenth year of Guangxu 光绪 (1892). We devised the Dance of Great Perfection (*Dacheng wu* 大成舞) with appropriate hymns for the worship of Confucius. We revived the ancient rites of using shields and battle-axes for the military dance, and we sang hymns of feasting and bestowal. With the students we practised the seventeen chapters of the Decorum Ritual (*Yili* 儀禮), arranging the ancient musical instruments and the performers in the prescribed order to signify the ideal of peace.[36]

It is clear that Kang was serious about his efforts to imitate the rituals and music of the past in order to prepare his students for future political roles. So much so that he felt the need to invoke the ancient practice to sanction his own practice. On one occasion, for example, he even followed the directions of the ancients and "made the twelve-stop flute mentioned by Xun Xu [荀勖 died A.D.289]."[37] The reminiscences of his students confirmed Kang's seriousness about rites and music. Liang Qixun 梁启勲 (1876-1965), younger brother of Liang Qichao and a pupil at Kang's academy at Changxing Lane, recalled that every time a ritual was performed, "bells and chimes would sound in unison, ceremonial implements such as a staff, banners and pennons

[34] Confucius once remarked: "Be stimulated by the Odes, regulated by the rites and perfected by music." See *The Analects*, translated by D. C. Lau (London: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 93.

[35] *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 2, pp. 230, 394-9, 467-70.

[36] Translation adapted from that of Jung-pang Lo in K'ang Yu-wei, pp. 53-4.

[37] *Kang Nanhai zibian nianpu*. Translated by Jung-pang Lo in K'ang Yu-wei, p. 54.

would be displayed and ritual dances performed."[38] Years later Liang Qichao himself also remembered vividly the singing scenes he participated as a student at the Wanmu caotang.[39] In 1891 Kang Youwei even supervised the construction of a set of replica ritual musical instruments and of a storeroom to house the ritual paraphernalia he had bought for teaching purposes.[40] Given this kind of preoccupation with music and rituals, it is not surprising that in June 1898, when Kang finally had the opportunity to present a memorial to the throne requesting the establishment of a modern school system, he recommended the inclusion of *geyue* 歌樂 in the school system.[41]

By this point it should be plain that Kang Youwei before the Hundred Days of Reform had formulated ideas containing many of the key characteristics of Confucian notions of music and rites. Despite Kang's indebtedness to the orthodox Confucian tradition, it would be wrong, however, to conclude that his promotion of music was a direct replica of Confucian thinking with no innovation. One obvious example of his difference is his emphasis on the martial dimension of music. Kang believed that "The utmost value of music lies in its sonorous sound and its function to stir up a martial spirit."[42] This stress on the valiant and soul-stirring rather than the pacifying and harmonizing effect of music represented both an expansion of the musical palette and a threat to musical tradition. Aesthetically it signaled a radical departure from the Confucian notion of the perfect music. Confucius's approved music is *shao* 韶 music - "a genre of ya music attributed to sage-ruler Shun [舜]."[43] This type of ritual music, characterized by its slow tempo, simple rhythmic pattern, narrow scale range and tranquil melodic movement,[44] was believed to have such attributes as calmness, harmoniousness, and peacefulness.[45] Martial spirited music like that of the *dawu* 大

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[38] Liang Qixun 梁啓勲, "Wanmu caotang huiyi" 萬木草堂回憶 (Recollections of the Thatched Hall amidst Myriad Trees) in *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 文史資料選輯 (Source Material on Literature and History) (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1986), 7 ce, 25 ji, p. 64.

[39] Ding Wenjiang 丁文江, Zhao Fengtian 趙豐田 eds., *Liang Qichao nianpu changbian* 梁啓超年譜長编 (A Chronological Account of Liang Qichao) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 26

[40] Ibid., p. 25. This last act is reminiscent of Confucius's admonition that "the gentleman should never be far from the ritual instruments". See Kenneth J. DeWoskin, "Philosophers on Music in Early China," World of Music 37 (1985): 39.

[41] Kang Youwei, "Qing kai xuexiao zhe", reprinted in Shu Xincheng 舒新城 ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* 中國近代教育史資料 (Materials on the History of Modern Education in China) (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 148-50.

[42] *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 2, p. 468

[43] DeWoskin, "Philosophers on Music in Early China," p. 38. Also see Siu-chi Huang, "Musical Art in Early Confucian Philosophy," *Philosophy East and West* 13.1 (1963): 50.

[44] For a more elaborate account of the attributes of the ya music, see Bliss Wiant, *The Music of China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1965), pp. 3-4.

[45] See Jiang Kongyang 蒋孔陽, "Ping Kong Qiu de 'Zhengyue' sixiang" 評孔丘的 "正樂" 思想 (On Confucius' Thought on the 'Correct Music') in *XianQin yinyue meixue sixiang lun-*

武 (in praise of King Wu of Zhou), ritual music attributed to the sage-ruler King Wu who defeated the tyrant Zhou 纣, the last king of the Shang dynasty, was not regarded by the master as "perfectly good," and therefore not the ideal type.[46]

Kang Youwei also differed from Confucius in his pragmatic approach to rites and music.[47] In contrast to Confucius's strict adherence to ancient rituals and music, Kang showed much flexibility in his attitude toward change:

> As far as food is concerned, it does not have to be the delicacies of the season so long as it can fill the stomach; as far as clothes are concerned, they do not have to be embroidered ones so long as they can keep the body warm; as far as the rites and music are concerned, they must be able to transform the masses even if they may be inferior to the ones used by the ancient sages.[48]

To reinforce his argument, Kang in Confucius as a Reformer (1897) cited the creation of the *Xianchi* 咸池 by the Yellow Emperor 黄帝, of the *Dazhang* 大章 by Yao 尧, of the *Xiaoshao* 箫韶 by Shun 舜, of the *Daxia* 大夏 by Yu 禹, and of the different music repertoires by the Shang 商 and Zhou 周 kings as primary examples of change.[49]

Kang Youwei's conception of music was deeply entrenched in Confucian thinking. But this does not mean that his use of music in teaching was immune to Western influence. Both Kang and Liang admitted the impact of Western books on the genesis of their reformist ideas, even though neither of them mentioned specific Western musical influence in their writings. Kang made occasional references to Western music when teaching at Changxing Lane, acknowledging that "as far as music theories are concerned, the West is the most advanced in recent times."[50] Kang was certainly not oblivious to the widespread use of vocal and instrumental music in Christian churches and the inclusion of musical instruction in most of the mission schools. He was particularly impressed by the way in which congregational singing

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gao 先秦音樂美學思想論稿 (Essays on Music Aesthetics in the Pre-Qin Period) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1986), p. 76-99.

[46] Xia Ye 夏野, *Zhongguo gudai yinyueshi jianbian* 中國古代音樂史简编 (A Concise History of Ancient Chinese Music) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 1989), pp. 14-5. Liu Zaisheng 劉再生, *Zhongguo dudai yinyue shi jianshu* 中國古代音樂史简述 (A Brief History of Ancient Chinese Music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1989), p. 80.

[47] *The Analects*, translated by D. C. Lau, Book XV. 11, pp. 133-34.

[48] *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 1, p. 127

[49] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 297. Keith Pratt explains these titles as follows: Huangdi's Xianchi, "meant that under him 'everything' (xian) received the 'application' (chi) of his spiritual power; Yao's Dazhang, that he had beautified (zhang) the way of heaven, earth and man; Shun's Xiaoshao, that he maintained (shao: meaning suggested by a gloss in Liji, zhu shu, 38.26) the way of Yao; Yu's Daxia, that he could practise the ways of Yao and Shun." See Keith Pratt, "The Evidence for Music in the Shang Dynasty: A Reappraisal," Bulletin of the British Association for Chinese Studies (1986): 43.

[50] *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 2, p. 468.

was used as a tool to propagate Christianity, instill the Western values and create an atmosphere of piety. But instead of crediting the Westerners with establishing this practice, his nationalistic instinct impelled him to point to the Chinese origin of it, citing the ancient Confucian practice of including music in the teaching curriculum as the precedence. In a long letter to an important court official written in 1889, for example, Kang lamented the loss of this didactic tradition in China and remarked: "Nowadays, even Western churches use musical instruments and songs to accompany their religious indoctrination."[51]

Kang Youwei was also aware of the fact that music as a subject of study was well established in Christian schools. In the same letter, he mentioned approvingly that in Christian mission schools "students spend an hour every day studying music and dance."[52] He was also aware that the inclusion of music as an integral part of the public school curriculum had been the common practice in Europe and the United States. The very fact that he mentioned the name of the great Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1749-1827) in his June 1898 memorial to the throne requesting the establishment of modern schools gives us reason to believe that he was familiar with the experimental schools of Pestalozzi in Switzerland.[53] Kang particularly singled out the case of Pestalozzi's employment by the Prussian King to illustrate the importance of a state-sponsored educational system in Germany's rise to power and wealth. Given that it was with specific reference to the Prussian school system that Kang recommended the inclusion of music as part of the national school curriculum, it is reasonable to assume that Kang's idea of school music at this time was of a Western sort, not the traditional type he had taught at the school at Changxing Lane.[54]

It is possible that Kang gained his knowledge of Western music through his association with the few progressive missionaries who were also active in promoting music in mission schools. Kang was well aware of the significant contributions made by Christian missionaries in the early development of China's new schools. Chi-yun Chen has identified the influence of Protestant missionaries such as Timothy Richard (1845-1919), Ernst Faber (1839-1899) and Young J. Allen (1836-1907) on Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao.[55] More recent research by Chinese scholars also points

[51] Kang Youwei, "Yu Shen xingbu zipei shu" 与沈刑部子培書 (Letter to Shen Zipei, Minister of the Board of Punishment" (1889) in *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 1, p. 384.

[52] Ibid..

[53] Kang Youwei, "Qing kai xuexiao zhe", p. 149.

[54] Ibid..

[55] Chi-yun Chen, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's 'Missionary Education': A Case Study of Missionary Influence on the Reformers," *Papers on China 16* (1962): 72-77. Marianne Bastid, however, has argued that missionary influence on China's educational reform is deliberately exaggerated by the missionaries. Using Zhang Jian as an example, she states: "Zhang never even considered emulating the missionary schools which were numerous enough in Jiangsu. He completely ignored them and displayed only indifference towards missionaries. When Aurora College split in 1906 he became a patron of the new Chinese establishment

out the extraordinary similarities between the reform ideas expressed by Kang Youwei in his memorials and those of Joseph Edkin, Gilbert Reid, Richard and Allen in the period prior to the 1898 Reform.[56] Although there is no unambiguous evidence to suggest a direct link between Kang's reference to music in his June 1898 memorial and any particular missionary influence, given the emphasis Richard, Edkin, Faber and Allen placed on music in their missionary work and their incorporation of music into their school curricula, it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that such a connection did exist.

In contrast to missionary influences, Japan as Kang's source of inspiration did not become apparent until the very last years of the 1890s. By 1898, Kang Youwei had certainly become acquainted with various Western books on music translated and published in Japan. This is illustrated nowhere more clearly than in his *Riben shumu zhi* 日本書目誌 (A Bibliography of Japanese Books) compiled in 1898. In this book he listed more than a hundred music-related book titles, most of which were textbooks, song anthologies, booklets on the rudiments of Western music theory and instruction manuals on how to play the organ and harmonium.[57]

Music in the World of Liang Qichao

Largely conditioned by his Confucian education, Liang Qichao's attitude toward music, like that of his mentor, was essentially utilitarian. Yet unlike Kang Youwei's unswerving promotion of the orthodox Confucian concept of *li* and *yue*, Liang's approach was neither systematic nor consistent. It underwent two distinct stages. Up to the time of the Hundred Days of Reform in 1898, Liang, like Kang, took a broad social and cultural approach to music and emphasized its importance in moral, ethical, intellectual, and physical education. But after fleeing to Japan in late 1898, especially after China's capitulation at the hands of the eight-nation allied forces in 1900, Liang became more utilitarian in his approach to music, abandoning his former gradualist approach and emphasizing instead the value of music as a tool of nationalism. The use of music, especially martial-spirited patriotic songs, in fostering a consolidated national spirit became of paramount importance to Liang. So much so that most of his references to music published in the *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 (New People's Miscellany) can even be categorized as a blatant form of nationalist propaganda.

Liang's preoccupation with the idea of music in creating a cohesive national identity led him to encourage, among other things, Chinese writers and musicians

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without expressing the slightest appreciation of the Jesuits." See Marianne Bastid, *Educational Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China*, translated by Paul J. Bailey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1988), p. 49.

[56] Shi Jinghuan 史静寰 and Wang Lixin 王立新, *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo zhishi fenzi* 基督教教育与中國知識分子 (Christian Education and Chinese Intellectuals) (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 182-87.

[57] For detailed list of these books, see *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 3, pp. 1115-20.

to appropriate Western, primarily European and American, march-type melodies and adapt them to Chinese settings.

Although Liang's thinking on music prior to 1898 was by no means systematic, there are certain themes that crop up again and again. One such, as explicated in his series of reform essays entitled *Bianfa tongyi* 變法通議 (A General Proposal for Reform), was the notion that music was a useful means of education.[58] For example, in "On the Education of Children" ("Lun youxue" 論幼學) and "On the Education of Women" ("Lun nüxue" 論女學), Liang Qichao pointed out the mental and physical usefulness of music in education.[59] In his view, restlessness and fatigue could be relieved by the employment of singing, and classroom discipline could be improved by the calm provided by poetry chanting. In his own words, "music must be studied at schools in order to alleviate the kind of boredom and dreariness that is associated with learning. [Learning music], moreover, could help children's blood circulation and invigorate their vital energy."[60]

Like his mentor Kang, Liang offered general guidelines on the specifics of music teaching and he even set out some concrete ways forward. For example, he suggested that school music lessons "include ballads and folk songs as they are easy to sing and chant." Concerning writing song lyrics, he encouraged the use of the vernacular and everyday expressions for the sake of easy comprehension. He even provided some hands-on advice on how to use music in teaching certain school subjects. Science subjects like astronomy, he suggested, could be taught by performing magic tricks (*yan xifa* 演戲法) and humanity subjects such as history could be taught by using the popular entertainment form *shuo guci* 說鼓詞 (story-telling). If a lesson could be delivered in this way, Liang reasoned, not only would children's natural curiosity be aroused, but their interest in these subjects would also be enhanced.[61] Clearly what interested Liang was not the intrinsic value of music but its utilitarian function. The real meanings of music mattered little. What really mattered was pedagogy, namely how music might help enhance children's learning.

For Liang, the significance of music, apart from its auxiliary values as a teaching aid, rested with its power in developing the child's brain.[62] Liang was a forceful critic of the way in which China's antiquated educational system hindered the development of children's natural intelligence. China's educational system, with its emphasis on rote learning, was "suffocating children's brains (*zhinao* 窒脑)," Liang charged.[63] In

[58] Wang Pu, "Qingmo Minchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo," p. 62.

[59] *Shiwubao*, no. 23 (12 April 1897), pp. 1a-4a; no. 25 (2 May 1897), pp. 1a-2b.

[60] Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji – wenji* 饮冰室合集-文集 (Collected Writings from the Ice-drinker's Studio, Collected Essays) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1941), vol. 1, p. 45.

[61] Liang, *Yinbingshi heji – wenji*, pp. 45-46.

[62] Bai, "Children and the Survival of China," p. 125.

[63] Liang, *Yinbingshi heji – wenji*, vol. 1, pp. 46-7. Bai, "Children and the Survival of China," p. 131.

his view, music could certainly help remedy the situation thanks to its inextricable relation to the emotive aspects of human behavior and to its recreational value.[64]

Liang Qichao was not the first to emphasis the benefits of singing and poetry chanting to children's education. His idea of combing education with recreation (*yujiao yule* 寓教于樂) can be traced back to the educational ideas and practices of some Song and Ming scholars. The Song court music theorist and educator Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059), for example, was known for his advocacy of music as a means of education.[65] Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529), the Ming Confucian idealist, was also acutely cognisant of the importance of music in education. One of the salient features of Wang's own educational practice was his use of singing as a way to harness children's energy and deliver moral and ethical lessons.[66]

Aside from its indigenous roots, Liang Qichao's notion of music as an effective pedagogical tool might also have been inspired by the kindergarten theory developed by the German educator Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). Froebel was widely known as a strong advocate of using music and games in the education of young children. His method of delivering fundamental moral and ethical lessons to kindergarten children was to incorporate these lessons into songs and games.[67] It is possible that Liang was aware of Froebel's theory and practice when he wrote "On the Education of Children" in 1896. Protestant missionaries introduced Froebel's theory to China in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The missionary educator and publisher Young J. Allen, whose reformist writings Liang was familiar with, was not only active in propagating the theory but also made efforts to put some of Froebel's ideas into practice.[68]

The fact that Liang Qicaho was well acquainted with missionary publications can be best seen through his *Xixue shumubiao* 西學書目表 (Bibliography of Western Books) and *Du xixue shufa* 讀西學書法 (How to Read Western Books). As shown by earlier research, Protestant missionaries' writings on Western educational systems certainly provided much inspiration in his search for an alternative to traditional Chinese education.[69] Of the various Protestant Christian publications, Liang Qichao made extensive use of the leading missionary periodical *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報

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[64] Bai, "Children and the Survival of China," p. 125.

[65] Ren Shiguang 任時光, *Zhongguo jiaoyu shi* 中國教育史 (Chinese History of Education) (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), pp. 169-70.

[66] Wang Yangming, *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings*, translated by Wing-tsit Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 182-83.

[67] Irene M. Lilley, *Friedrich Froebel: A Selection from His Writings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 68-119. Nanette Whitebread, *The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School* (Boston: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 31-34.

[68] Gan Yamei, "Jiaohui xuexiao de yinyue jiaoyu" in Wu Yongyi ed., *Zhonguo jinxiandai xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu, 1840-1949*, p. 340. Huang Xinxian 黄新憲 *Jidujiao jiaoyu yu Zhongguo shehui bianqian* 基督教教育与中國社会變迁 (Christian Education and the Transformation of Chinese Society) (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), p. 101.

[69] Chen, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's 'Missionary Education'," pp. 72-77.

(The Globe Magazine) edited by Young J. Allen.[70]

As a participant in the imperial examinations, Liang Qichao had almost certainly been exposed to Ernest Faber's widely circulated book, *Zi xi cu dong* 自西徂東 (Civilization, Chinese and Christian), which was distributed among the students at examination centers.[71] Liang must have also read Faber's *Xiguo xuexiao* 西國學校 (Western Schools), as he listed it as one of recommended books in his *Xixue shumubiao*.[72] Both books discuss the general importance of music in education. *Zi xi cu dong* in particular talks at length about the importance of *li* and *yue* in the enlightenment and transformation of the Chinese populace. Faber's notion of music, expounded most clearly in Chapter 35 of the book, was essentially Confucian. He even cited ancient Chinese examples and used much of the Confucian phraseology and rationale to highlight the didactic efficacy of music.[73]

Liang's social and political views underwent some radical transformation after the failure of the 1898 reforms. "Between 1899 and 1903," as has been pointed out in a study, "Liang developed an intense interest in constitutional monarchy, statism, and republicanism."[74] This change in Liang's political views was also reflected in his views on music. Whereas earlier he shared Kang's cultural view of music, calling attention to the beneficial effects of music on children's intellectual, moral, and physical developments, he now focused almost singularly on the practical uses of music in fostering a new citizenry. This development is seen nowhere more clearly than in his assigning important social roles to music and musicians.

Compared to his early writings, it is apparent that Liang had became more utilitarian in his approach to music, focusing more on the promotion of the European-style marching song. He justified this change of focus by emphasizing time after time the function of music in the fostering of a militarized national spirit and argued for the employment of music in transforming Chinese society. In his reformist thinking music was to take on a role that was much more utilitarian and much broader in social and political significance. Liang's utilitarian intent, as has been pointed out by other scholars, was conditioned by his times and consistent with his instrumental view of

[70] Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1916), p. 254.

[71] Ibid., p. 222.

[72] Liang Qichao, *Xixue shumu biao* (Bibliography of Western Books) in Jian Bozan ed., *Wuxu bianfa*, vol. 1. pp. 452-53.

[73] Hua Zhian (Ernest Faber), *Zi xi cu dong* 自西徂東 (Civilization, Chinese and Christian) (Hong Kong: 1884), pp. 179-81.

[74] Xiaobing Tang, "'Poetic Revolution,' Colonization, and Form at the Beginning of Modern Chinese Literature," in Rebecca E. Carl and Peter Zarrow eds., *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 245. For a more elaborate account of this change, see Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 80-116.

literature and the arts as a whole.[75]

The link between the late Qing "Poetic Revolution" and the beginning of the so-called "School Song" movement in the late Qing has been discussed by a number of Chinese scholars.[76] Indeed, Liang Qichao's enthusiastic promotion of European-style school songs constituted such an integral part of his "Literary Revolution" that there is little indication that in Liang's mind music was independent of poetry. The very fact that Liang's major discussions on music are found in his *Yinbingshi shihua* 飲冰室詩話 (Poetic Remarks from the Ice-drinker's Studio) gives a clear indication of this line of thinking. Music was part and parcel of the series of genre revolutions that Liang advocated and put into practice after arriving in Japan. C. T. Hsia, discussing Liang's pioneering role in the advent of new Chinese fiction, has analysed his efforts to use the novel as an instrument to enlighten and change the hearts and minds of his readers.[77] In more recent research, Hiroko Willcock and other scholars also draw attention to Liang's employment of fiction "as a powerful medium" to advance the reform causes.[78] These observations can also find parallel in Liang's approach to music. If his call for a Poetic Revolution "made poetry writing a serious social and intellectual commitment,"[79] his emphasis on the social and political significance of music made song composing a task more of political agitation than artistic expression.

The most noticeable feature of Liang Qichao's utilitarian approach to music at this stage of his intellectual development was his indefatigable promotion of Western-style marching songs. A good case in point is his appraisal of Huang Zunxian's 黄遵宪 marching song lyrics. To be sure, Liang had always commended Huang Zunxian for his effort to use his literary talent for the purpose of promoting a nationalist spirit among the populace.[80] However, it is telling that, of Huang's voluminous literary

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75 Da Wei 達威, "Liang Qichao, Zeng Zhimin dui jindai yinyue wenhua de gongxian" 梁啓超，曾志忞对近代音樂文化的貢献 (Liang Qichao and Zeng Zhimin's Contributions to the Modern Musical Culture of China), *Renmin yinyue* 人民音樂 (People's Music), No. 2 (1983), p. 39.

76 Huang Xiangpeng 黄翔鹏, "Qingmo de 'shijie geming' he 'xuetang yuege'" 清末的 '詩界革命' 与 '學堂樂歌' ("Revolution in Poetry" and the "School Song" in the Late Qing), *Cikan* 词刊, No. 2 (1983), pp. 22-24.

77 C. T. Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as Advocates of New Fiction" in Adele Richkett ed., *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 221-57.

78 Hiroko Willcock, "Japanese Modernization and the Emergence of New Fiction in Early Twentieth Century China: A Study of Liang Qichao," *Modern Asian Studies* 29. 4 (1995): 817.

79 Tang, "'Poetic Revolution,' Colonization, and Form at the Beginning of Modern Chinese Literature", p. 255.

80 Huang Zunxian's works on Japan provided much inspiration for Liang's reformist thinking and for this reason he held Huang in high esteem. See Zheng Kuangmin 鄭匡民, *Liang Qichao qimeng sixiang de dongxue Beijing* 梁啓超啓蒙思想的東學背景 (Liang Qichao's Enlightenment Thought and Its Japanese Background (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chu-

works, Liang would find such inspiration in his military marches. Huang Zunxian had composed these marches for the express purpose of stirring up martial spirit and patriotic sentiment among Chinese soldiers and ordinary citizens with little regard to literary merits or aesthetic sophistication. Clearly the criteria by which Liang Qichao judged Huang's poems were utilitarian rather than artistic. The following two stanzas, one from Huang's *Chujun ge* 出軍歌 (Military March) and the other from his *Junzhong ge* 軍中歌 (A Song of the Military Camps), both of which were published in Liang's journal *Xinmin congbao*, will suffice to illustrate this point.

Our country has been here four thousand years
And all of this land is our own land.
In the twentieth century, who will its masters be?
We are in armor now to settle this.
Behold the waving yellow-dragon flags.
Drum! Drum! Drum! [81]

To be great, to be great, you nice [fine?] young men,
The best death is death on the battlefield.
Since death must come to everyone,
Don't waste your chance to make death count.
Die! Die! Die! [82]

In addition to the overpowering tenor of ardent nationalism, of devotion to the cause of strengthening China, most of Huang's marching songs had refrains with such soul-stirring words as "Fight! Fight! Fight!," "Must! Must! Must!," "Win! Win! Win!," "Forward! Forward! Forward!," or "Brave! Brave! Brave!," designed to awaken the martial spirit among the Chinese soldiers.[83] These songs appealed to Liang because he discovered an ideal form that could be utilized to set the Chinese masses on a march toward creating a strong and independent China.

It came as no surprise that Liang Qichao should be so passionate about promoting

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banshe, 2003), pp. 10-11. Liang was impressed by Huang's wealth of experience and world knowledge and appreciated his advice on various matters. Huang's influence on Liang was such that Zhang Pengyuan 張朋園 even suggests that it was partly due to Huang's admonition that Liang abandoned his radicalism and began to oppose anti-Manchu revolution. See Zhang Pengyuan, "Huang Zunxian de zhengzhi sixiang jiqi dui Liang Qichao de yingxiang" 黄遵憲的政治思想及其对梁启超的影响 (The Political Thought of Huang Zunxian and His Influence on Liang Qichao), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), No. 1 (1969), pp. 217-27.

[81] Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi shihua* 飲冰室詩話 (Poetic Remarks of the Ice-Drinker's Studio) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), p. 43. This translated is from Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China – Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 252.

[82] Liang, *Yinbingshi shihua*, p. 43, translated in Kamachi, *Reform in China*, p. 253.

[83] Kamachi, *Reform in China*, p. 253.

Western-style marching songs in his project of nation building. As a musical form, the revival of the military march was inextricably linked to the rise of nationalism, patriotism, and militarism.[84] John Philip Sousa (1854-1932), the leader of the U.S. Marine Band from 1880 until 1892 and composer of the official march of the United States of America, The Stars and Stripes Forever, explained the appeal of marching music as follows:

> Like the beat of an African war drum, the march speaks to a fundamental rhythm in the human organization and is answered. A march stimulates every center of vitality, wakens the imagination and spurs patriotic impulses which may have been dormant for years. I can speak with confidence because I have seen men profoundly moved by a few measures of a really inspired march.[85]

Warren Dwight Allen (1885-1964), a music historian and one-time professor of music at Stanford University also noted:

> [T]he march is not only a musical form; it is in itself suggestive of the condition we have set up for civilization. Mankind is civilized, we believe, when it shows the capacity for progress, for getting out of the rut in which a vegetating culture is content, for lifting weaker members to their feet so they may go ahead with the strong to higher levels in thought and in action.[86]

The Vietnamese revolutionaries certainly showed their belief in the efficacy of the march in motivating the masses when they turned La Marseillaise into a call to arms to fight the French colonial power.[87]

Liang's enthusiasm for poems of muscular quality and martial-spirited marching songs was a natural outgrowth of his search for a vehicle for great nationalistic appeal. For years Liang had been gravely concerned with what he perceived as "a palpable lack of indignation" by his countrymen towards the foreign encroachment on China's sovereignty. Attributing this indifference to the national interest to a lack of martial spirit among the Chinese people, he pointed an accusing figure to Chinese music for being one of the factors that contributed to this passivity. "There are many reasons for the lack of a martial spirit among the Chinese, but the gentleness of Chinese music is certainly one," he argued.[88] In his opinion, the lack of military songs was

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[84] Krystyn R. Moon, "'There is no Yellow in the Red, White, and Blue': The Creation of Anti-Japanese Music during World War II," *Pacific Historical Review* 72. 3 (2003): 346-47.

[85] John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music* (Boston, 1928). Cited in Moon, "'There is no Yellow in the Red, White, and Blue'," p. 347.

[86] Warren Dwight Allen, *Our Marching Civilization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1943), cited in Jason Gibbs, "The West's Songs, Our Songs: The Introduction and Adaptation of Western Popular Song in Vietnam before 1940," *Asian Music* 34. 1 (2003): 63.

[87] Gibbs, "The West's Songs, Our Songs", p. 63.

[88] Liang, *Yinbingshi shihua*, p. 42. Translated and cited in J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 56.

"not only a defect in our fatherland's literature but is also closely related to the decline in our national fortunes."[89] Similar to the Vietnamese revolutionaries who found in the march "a form that could be used to set the masses in motion advancing toward mankind's collective destiny of creating a fairer world,"[90] Liang discovered in Huang's marches a motivational tool whereby he could counter the national psyche of passivity and cowardice:

> Previously, when I read Huang Zunxian's "Four Marching Songs," I was deliriously happy... for the accomplishments of our Poetic Revolution have reached a new highpoint here. To sum up in one sentence, I must say that anyone who can read these poems without dancing is not a real man! [91]

For the same reason, Liang also praised the poems of Yang Du 杨度 (1874-1931),[92] Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865-1898),[93] and other ancient and contemporary poets.[94] Clearly Liang's promotion of marching songs was not spurred by Huang's poems alone but was a conscious effort to encourage Chinese poets and musicians to follow Huang's suit.

Liang Qichao's belief in the efficacy of music in arousing a martial spirit among the Chinese masses and therefore ultimately contributing to the building of a nation-state is most clearly manifested in his citing of the following ancient legend in support of his argument:

> Formerly, when the Spartans were besieged and begged assistance from Athens, the Athenians responded by sending a one-eyed, lame schoolteacher, which greatly puzzled the Spartans. But just before a battle, this teacher composed military songs, which, sung by the Spartans, increased their valour a hundredfold, enabling them to win a victory.

[89] Liang, *Yinbingshi shihua*, pp. 42-3. Translated by Schmidt in *Within the Human Realm*, p. 56. Liang, in his zeal to promote Huang's marching songs, was inaccurate in historical facts when he made the claim that "China never had many military songs". While suppressing the Taipings in the 1850s and 60s, Zeng Guofan 曾国藩 composed many songs for the soldiers to sing in his Hunan army. Chang Chaodong 常朝棟, "Zhongguo junyue fanzhan zhi yanjiu" 中國軍樂發展之研究 (A Study of the Development of Military Music in China) (MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1985), p. 119. Zeng Guofan's protégé Li Hongzhang 李鸿章 also initiated the daily practice of chanting "songs with the theme of 'love the people'" in his Huai army. See Kwang-Ching Liu, "The Confucian as Patriot and Pragmatist: Li Hung-chang's Formative Years, 1823-1866" in *Hung-chang and China's Early Modernisation*, eds., Samuel C. Chu and Kwang-Ching Liu (Armond, New York, and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), p. 26.

[90] Gibbs, "The West's Songs, Our Songs," p. 63.

[91] Liang, *Yinbingshi shihua*, pp. 42-3. Translated by Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm*, p. 56.

[92] Liang, *Yinbingshi shihua*, pp. 66-9; 97-9.

[93] Ibid., pp.14-5.

[94] Ibid., p.59.

C調4/4　愛國歌譜之一

1 1 1 6 1 4 | 2 1 2 3 2 17 | 1 0 4 4 2 2 | 1 1 6 5 5 | 4 6 5 5 4 0 |
泱泱哉我中華！最大洲中最大國，廿二行省爲一家。物產腴沃甲大地，
5 5 4 5 | 6 7 1 —— | 2 2 1 ♭7 7 6 6 | 5 5 4 5 6 — | ♭7 7 1 1 |
天府雄國言非誇。——君不見，英日區區三島尚崛起，——況乃堂堂
2 —— 3 —— | 4 —— 2 2 1 1 | 6 6 5 4 —— | 2 2 1 1 4 4 5 | 6 ♭7 1 2 |
百——中——華。——結我團體，振我精神；——二十世紀新世界，雄飛宇內
4 4 4 5 5 5 | 6 2 1 6 6 | 6 5 5 4 0 ||
疇與倫？可愛哉我國民！可愛哉我國民！——

黃帝歌譜之一

2 2 2 1 | 2 —— 3 3 | 5 5 6 5 | 3 —— | 3 3 5 3 |
赫赫我祖名——軒轅，降自崑崙山。北逐獯鬻
6 6 5 3 | 2 2 2 1 | 2 —— | 6 6 7 7 | 5 —— 3 5 |
南——苗蠻，馳驅戎馬間。攘擾異族定——主權，
6 6 5 3 | 6 —— | 7 —— 7 6 | 5 5 3 5 | 6 6 5 3 | 2 —— ||
以貽我子孫。嗟我子孫無忘無忘乃祖之光榮！

How deeply music is able to move men! [95]

The conviction in the agitating power of the marching song also led him to try his hand in writing song lyrics. The following examples of Liang's songs, found in his *Yinbingshi shihua* 飲冰室詩話 (Poetic Remarks from the Ice-drinker's Studio), are illustrative of his efforts:

> Liang Qichao was at pains to explain the rationale for writing these songs. He hoped that one day these songs, along with his novels and poems, would help awaken a national consciousness among the Chinese people.[96] In explicating his political motives and phrasing his arguments in terms of the national interest, Liang once again showed his utilitarian impulses.

Liang's musical utilitarianism also has its origin in the Japanese environment of the late 1890s and early 1900s. In his musicological study of stylistic development in Chinese revolutionary songs, Godwin Yuen has attributed the cause of Liang "sudden change of mind" after 1900 to two external factors, one of which was Japan's effective adoption of a European and American-style group singing in the school curriculum to excite nationalist sentiments.[97] Hiroko Willcock, discussing Liang's role in the development of China's new fiction, even goes as far as to assert that Liang's "approaches to Chinese modernization" were "conditioned by Japanese utilitarian and

[95] Ibid., p. 42, translated by Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm*, p. 56.

[96] Da Wei, "Liang Qichao, Zeng Zhimin dui jindai yinyue wenhua de gongxian," p. 39.

[97] Godwin Yuen, "Stylistic Development in *Chinese Revolutionary Songs* (1919-1940)" (Ph.D. Thesis, Griffith University, 1988), p. 131.

practical consideration."[98] Liang was to some extent indeed "a man much affected by Japan and Japanese influence" and his stay in Japan between late 1898 and 1905 proved to be "critical in his development as an intellectual, and as a radical reformer."[99]

Liang Qichao's utilitarian turn may indeed have something to do with his adoption at this time of a modern Japanese revisionist interpretation of the practical learning (*jitsugaku* 實學), as Wilcock has argued.[100] But I would not go so far as to attribute his utilitarian emphasis on the functions of literature and music entirely to the Japanese environment. To read Liang's literary discourse, of which his thought on music was a part, as a passive reaction to the Japanese model is to deny the agency of Liang Qichao and his deep indebtedness to the Confucian tradition.

Lydia H. Liu, in her post-modernist study of literary discourse in modern China, has emphasized the importance of agency and context in the process of learning from the West via Japan. Her suggestion that the discourse of modernity was creatively "deployed" by Chinese intellectuals and "reinvented" in its new context has much relevance to our current study.[101] To be sure, Liang did advocate the appropriation of aspects of Western culture as mediated by Japan, but his encouragement was not a call for blind imitation. As far as Liang was concerned, the assimilation of certain aspects of Western musical culture was primarily predicated on it fulfilling certain needs determined by historical circumstances. At the same time these adoptions should pose no contradiction with Chinese tradition. Western-style marching songs appealed to him not only because of their effectiveness but also because they satisfied his Confucian predilection for relying on cultural and intellectual suasion in social transformation. Unlike the May Fourth iconoclasts, Liang's promotion of Western-style songs did not constitute a call for "a transvaluation of all traditional values."[102] His view of music is essentially the same as his view on literature, which, as Kirk Denton has pointed out, "is fundamentally Confucian in its didacticism."[103]

The broad diffusion of Western music in Japan and the adoption of European-style singing in Japan's new school system may have served as a ready example for Liang to emulate, but they did not constitute the root source of his thought. Instead of relying on external influences alone, I wish to draw attention to Liang's indebtedness to Chinese tradition and focus on the power of Confucian influence in moulding his

[98] Willcock, "Japanese Modernization and the Emergence of New Fiction in Early Twentieth Century China: A Study of Liang Qichao," p. 819.

[99] Ibid., p. 818.

[100] Ibid., pp. 819-29.

[101] Lydia H. Liu, "Translingual Practice: The Discourse of Individualism between China and the West," *Positions* 1. 1 (1993):161.

[102] Yü Yingshi 余英時, *Zhongguo jindai sixiang shi shang de Hu Shi* 中國近代思想史上的胡適 (Hu Shi in the Intellectual History of Modern China) (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1984), p. 17.

[103] Kirk A. Denton, ed., Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893-1945 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 66.

reformist thinking even at this stage of his intellectual development. It can be argued that in spite of his overt utilitarian turn, his overall approach to music was still firmly embedded in Confucian culturalism.

Lin Yü-sheng, in his study of radical iconoclasm in the May Fourth period, has discussed at length Chinese intellectuals' propensity to rely on the power of the mind in social and political reform.[104] According to Lin, this "monolithic concern with the power of the mind," a salient feature of the Confucian way of statecraft, not only dominates the minds of traditionalists but those of cultural iconoclasts as well.[105] In emphasizing the function of music as an educational and motivational device, a tool for social, cultural and political transformation, and a means to manipulate the minds of the populace, Liang Qichao's mode of thinking was still firmly entrenched in the Confucian school of statecraft. After all, music being "an essential instrument for education, social control and political rectitude," as DeWoskin has pointed out, had always been the focal point of Confucian thinking: "a well defined concept of music that values its social functionality above all else" was formed by Confucian thinkers as early as the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220).[106] This Confucian utilitarian propensity not only furnished Liang with justifications for promoting Western music to the Chinese public but also conditioned him in his selection of musical models from the West. In fact, more often than not he would use Confucian rationale and even phraseology to argue for the social value of music, emphasizing particularly the power of songs in renovating the people and society. Even in his propagation of Western-style marching songs, he was still adhering to the orthodox Confucian notion of music, pointing out repeatedly the transforming power of music.[107]

Yet Liang's promotion of music was not without its differences from orthodox Confucian tradition. The difference, however, is more of emphasis than radical rupture. Whereas Confucius valued music primarily for its power in perfecting the individual's moral conduct and harmonizing human relations, Liang extended this utilitarian view by linking music more with political struggle and the project of nation-building.[108] In this respect, the Japanese environment of the late Meiji era may have indeed inspired Liang. After all, it was in Japan that he became more blatantly utilitarian in his approach to music and more active in his promotion of music as a means of nationalist agitation and nation-building.

[104] Yü-sheng Lin, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti-traditionalism in the May Fourth Era* (Madson: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979).

[105] Lin Yusheng (Yü-sheng Lin) 林毓生, "Maichu Wusi yi guangda Wusi – jianda Wang Yuanhua xiansheng" 邁出五四以廣大五四：简答王元化先生 (Going beyond the May Fourth in order to Broaden the May Fourth: A Brief Response to Mr Wang Yuanhua) in *Wusi: duoyuan de fansi* 五四多元的反思 (May Fourth: A Multi-faceted Reflection) (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1989), pp. 28-45.

[106] DeWoskin, "Philosophers on Music in Early China," p. 39.

[107] Liang, *Yinbingshi shihua*, p. 42.

[108] Da Wei, "Liang Qichao, Zeng Zhimin dui jindai yinyue wenhua de gongxian", p. 39.

Liang Qichao's time in Japan also saw his departure from his mentor Kang Youwei in his general view of Confucianism.[109] As far as music was concerned, Liang eschewed Kang's practice of incorporating rites and ancient music into the school curriculum. Whereas in 1897 he briefly entertained the idea that school children should recite Confucian songs in daily assembly,[110] Liang now became more preoccupied with the more urgent task of using music to mold a public-spirited citizenry. Unlike Kang, Liang's musical ideas at this time were not a reproduction of Confucian ideals but were born of an urgent concern for the preservation of the race (*baozhong* 保种) and the country (*baoguo* 保國). This is clearly manifested in his emphasis on music as a tool of nationalism at the expense of music as a means of character cultivation -- a main facet of the Confucian notion of music. In other words, patriotic songs are more urgently needed than a mastery of the qin. This also explains why among various forms of Western music introduced to Japan during the Meiji era, Liang only paid attention to songs of a military type. In short, his music-related activities, such as promoting patriotic songs, introducing foreign national anthems, encouraging commitments to music learning, reminding songwriters of their social responsibilities, and so on, all sprang out of the concern for nation-building.

* * * *

Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were not Marxists, but they shared Karl Marx's functional view of culture.[111] Liang Qichao's musical ideas and actions in particular demonstrated clearly that they believed that the primary function of music was not the cultivation of artistic production or the appeal of aesthetic satisfaction, but moral cultivation and, in Liang's case, political indoctrination. Their interest in Western music, and Liang's interest in a European style of singing in particular, was by no means derived from their appreciation of the artistic qualities of Western music. It resulted from their conviction that by popularizing this type of singing in China their reformist objectives could be achieved. In this regard, they were not different from Yuan Shikai 袁世凯, Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 and other pioneer promoters of Western military music. Yuan and Zhang adopted Western military bands in their armies on the understanding that they could help modernist their troops and raise the morale of his soldiers. Kang Youwei emphasized the importance of music because he believed music could enhance individual morality and ultimately facilitate the realization of his Utopian world. Similarly, Liang Qichao promoted Western style

[109] Chi-yun Chen has argued that Liang had started to deviate from his mentor in his social and political views as early as 1896. See Chen, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's 'Missionary Education'", pp. 115-6. But as far as music is concerned, Liang's change did not occur until his flight to Japan.

[110] Yuen, "Stylistic Development in Chinese Revolutionary Songs (1919-1940)," p. 131.

[111] For recent studies of Marx and music, see Regula B. Qureshi ed., *Music and Marx, Practice, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

marching songs because he was convinced that in the march lay a tool that could be used to create a new people.

Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were the earliest Chinese reformers of national renown to call attention to the importance of music in China's reforms. Whereas in actual practice Kang's role in using Western music to advance China's national cause may have been negligible, Liang's is surely significant. Having, among other things, "revolutionized the Chinese press," Liang was certainly the most influential Chinese promoter of foreign songs among Chinese intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century. As a man of action, Liang not only actively encouraged his compatriots to study music but also wrote patriotic songs himself and translated foreign anthems into Chinese. He even formulated certain critical views about the concrete problems in the creation of a new Chinese music. Although he was acutely cognizant of the critical importance of learning from the West in renovating China's musical tradition, he did not advocate a wholesale importation of Western music. Instead, he urged Chinese songwriters and musicians to make good use of China's traditional musical forms as ritual and ceremonial music (ya 雅), regional operas (ju 剧), and popular music (su 俗) while keeping an eye open on musical developments in the West. To him, the future music of China had to be both modern and Chinese. This formula of combining indigenous and Western musical elements even to this day continues to dominate the thinking of Chinese musicians.

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